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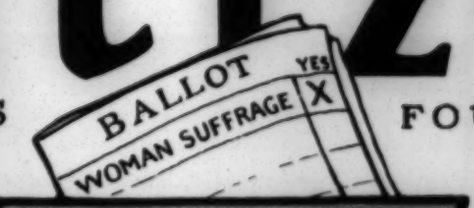
April 27, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S FOUNDED 1870



WOMEN AND THE THIRD LOAN

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If you cannot afford to send gift subscriptions, persuade your friends to subscribe

Don't be a suffrage slacker. Enlist as a worker for democracy and the Woman Citizen

(SEE PAGE OPPOSITE)

CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

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VOL. II APRIL 27, 1918 No 22

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman's suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Where Is Your State?

IT was a great day for the *Woman Citizen* when the suffragists of Indiana met in convention last week. Under the leadership of Mrs. Croan, who says that her campaign is just beginning, league presidents responded to the roll-call by telling how many new subscribers they had secured, and individual subscriptions were taken from the floor. A great deal of enthusiasm has been roused among the various Indiana leagues by the competition for two *Woman Citizen* banners, photographs of which appeared in our issue of April 6. But we believe that Mrs. Croan herself is responsible for the fine fighting spirit that is distinguishing her state's circulation campaign. She is not only a splendid executive, but a born publicity woman, and we print the following excerpts from the letter with which she launched her campaign, knowing that they cannot fail to interest our other circulation workers:

"In the mud and gloom of the trenches our boys fight for Democracy. MOTHERS—If you could HELP these boys—would you? YOU CAN—by securing that most powerful of all weapons, the vote.

"A thing has happened in Indiana that should not have happened. Things will keep on happening *unless the women of Indiana get together and make it impossible to expunge laws from the records of our State legislature.*

"Propaganda's greatest force lies in publicity. The suffrage medium of publicity is the *Woman Citizen*. By means of the *Woman Citizen* we can loose upon the community a volume of information and argument that will rouse the indifferent and unappreciative to a sense of their responsibility.

"Every *Woman Citizen* placed in your community *is a gun fired for our boys in the trenches, for the home, for democracy. How many guns will you shoot?*"

Here is a real idea for circulation workers. Mrs. L. D. Ledbetter of Coleman, Texas, writes: "I have distributed the sample copies you sent, rented me a *Woman Citizen* window up town, and filled it full of pictures cut from my own valuable copies and there are always passers-by stopping to read. Also I have pasted my own 'Clarion Call to Mothers' and displayed a homespun dress of my own spinning and weaving, cutting out and making with my own fingers at 14 years, during America's Civil War."

Katharine Gay,
National Circulation Chairman.

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
West Virginia: Mrs. P. C. McBee of Morgantown
Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston
Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston
South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham
Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson
Michigan: Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor
North Dakota: Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd of Hebron

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium
FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is $1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

April 13th	*April 20th*
1. Georgia	1. Georgia
2. South Dakota	2. South Dakota
3. New Jersey	3. New Jersey
4. Minnesota	4. Minnesota
5. Iowa	5. Iowa
6. Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio	6. Indiana
7. New Hampshire	7. Michigan
8. Wisconsin	8. Ohio
9. Alabama	9. New York
10. Massachusetts	10. Alabama
11. Virginia	11. New Hampshire
12. Maine	12. Wisconsin
13. Louisiana	13. Massachusetts
14. Pennsylvania, Maryland	14. Virginia
15. Texas	15. Maine
16. Connecticut	16. Louisiana
17. Kentucky	17. Pennsylvania
18. Rhode Island, North Dakota	18. Maryland
19. Nebraska	19. Texas, Connecticut
20. Washington, Mississippi	20. Kentucky
21. South Carolina	21. Rhode Island, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota
22. Vermont, Tennessee	22. Nebraska
	23. Washinton
	24. Vermont, Tennessee

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

April 27, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Is Suffrage Work War Work?

THERE foregathered in Executive Council in Indianapolis last week a group of women, representing a vastly larger group of women, whose collective activities in war work, it is safe to say, have resulted in more actual achievement than have those of any other specific group of women in the United States.

In one state alone, the state of New York, their self-apportioned share of the first two Liberty Loan drives was over $10,000,000.

In various states their organizations have assumed complete charge of such patriotic tasks as the military registration, while taking over, as well, large details of the Red Cross relief program, the conservation and thrift programs, and the Liberty Loan campaigns.

Besides which, they have organized a chain of hospital units and have assumed their upkeep, about $125,000 per year to begin with, for the relief of the women and children of France.

From the beginning of the war these women have leaped at every presenting opportunity to help, to stand by America, to see the war through.

No detail of the war program has been slighted by them.

The crassest and stupidest critic has been silenced by the eagerness of their loyalty and the effectiveness of their war service.

These women are the suffragists of America, and it was the duly appointed representatives of their 2,000,000 membership that foregathered in the council meeting at Indianapolis.

In all their counseling the war stood out foremost.

It filled their minds.

It thrilled their hearts.

It informed all discussion.

It was part of every report.

It conditioned all prospects.

They were logical women.

They were balanced.

They were practical.

You could not listen to them without realizing the coherency of their purpose and intention.

And never for a moment did they visualize suffrage work as anything but war work!

It was there in the war work scheme just as Red Cross work and Thrift and Conservation and Liberty Loan work were there.

Were they wrong?

Is woman's right of self-government not pertinent to the world's right of self-government?

Is practice not pertinent to theory?

Is the thing we are fighting for not pertinent to the fight?

As well say that the freeing of the slaves should have been deferred until the Civil War for their freedom was over as to say that woman's right of self-government should not be considered until the war for self-government is over.

Suffrage work is war work and as such must go forward unceasingly until the war for democracy ends in triumph.

Not Their Policy

WHILE suffragists push forward the war program with collective strength, anti-suffragists seem proud of the fact that, as an organization, they are taking no part in war service.

"It has never been our policy," says a letter written in February of this year and signed by Mrs. James Wadsworth, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, "to go into war work, or any other work, as a national organization."

On whose side in this great war for freedom are these women whose existence as a corporate body is, at this crisis of the nation's fight for democracy, not justified by any organized part in the nation's struggle for life? Perhaps the lack of such united effort explains why they could listen with patience to the advice of Charles S. Fairchild and Henry Wise Wood at a meeting of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. According to the New York *Times,* friendly to the cause of the antis, ex-secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild, urged the anti-suffragists there assembled to form themselves into political groups to defeat the suffrage bill already passed by a referendum vote at the polls in New York State.

"You will have to make great sacrifices," he told them. Not sacrifices, mind you, to beat autocracy abroad, but to establish autocracy at home.

"Many women who have been giving their time to their families and household will have to give up that"—So woman's place after all isn't in the home.

"You who have been giving time to this great war work will have to give up some of that."

In the *Sun's* report of the same meeting, Mr. Henry Wise Wood, whose fear of women's pacifism has driven him into the anti-suffrage fold, is said to have contributed his share of the same advice. "War work must diminish for a while," he is reported as saying, "till we overcome the danger of a woman's vote."

The Bonds of Sorrow

"C'EST *l'entente cordiale de la souffrance,*" said a French officer behind the lines as he watched two wounded soldiers, a British Tommy and a French poilu, helping each other in a painful journey bask from the front trenches. This is the vision of a new internationalism being wrought into the very marrow of all the fighting races, an alliance of suffering shared, the entente of a common hope. The belief that in these bonds of sorrow the world will finally see a new protection against injustice buoys up the spirits of nations at war. It is this bond which gives a new thrill to the sound of halting foreign syllables on the tongue of American men in khaki. They may not yet know the speech of Uncle Sam, but they know the heart of him.

It is the common hope of ridding the world of wrong that adds a touch of poignancy to the sight of negro sailors wearing the caps of the U. S. S. Leviathan, the ship that was once the Vaterland. The oppressed of the earth are rising that there shall be no more oppression.

The shared sorrow of women is making a force for freedom so strong that its like has never been seen in the world before. On one of those moonlight nights, so much dreaded in England now an American woman who lives just outside of London, becoming anxious over her husband's late return from the city, opened her front door to look down the street. As she did so she saw an English woman neighbor drop dead, bombed by a German Zeppelin.

Parisian and American women also have been drawn into the *entente cordiale de la souffrance* by the blind, aimless brutality of the long-range guns which shot up the church in which American women were at prayer, and destroyed a day nursery and three babies with their mothers.

The invisible comradeship of sorrow is more dynamic than the highest explosives, stronger than Krupp guns. It is as deathless as love. In the end it will conquer all hates. The Central Powers have built a great machine, but they have forgotten to reckon with the mightiest force there is, the unbreakable ties of sympathy. Do they believe that the grief of mothers for sons heaped up on the plains of Picardy will not some time rise and rend their war machine? Do they believe that eventually all over the world the power of an ideal hammered out by comradeship in suffering and in injustice will not be the final voice in the adjustment of the world?

My Share in the Cost of the War

PEOPLE have stopped asking, How much can I spare for the war fund? They are now saying, What is my share? At first everyone had a tendency to calculate what would be left for Red Cross and Liberty bonds after the household bills were all paid. Now the people of America are waking up—as the people of Europe woke up months ago. They are estimating what will be left to pay the household bills after their share of the war cost is deducted.

The German war loan has averaged $350 to every German, big and little. This estimate was based on the population of Imperial Germany before its men were mown down in battle. It has actually cost the existing population more than that. What America has so far demanded of its people for the war fund is only about $120 per person. It is evident that America cannot expect to beat the Hun on a 33 1-3 per cent basis.

There are in the United States 10 families whose incomes total a little more than $1,000,000,000. The total incomes of all the families in the country equal $38,250,000,000. If the 200 richest families of the United States were to sacrifice their entire living income they could not float a quarter of the war loan.

An estimate of the war's cost and its equitable distribution has just been issued by the Bankers Trust Co. of New York in a pamphlet entitled "What is My Share in the Cost of the War?"

The principal feature of this pamphlet is a table which shows the number of families in the country by income groups; the total cost of the second year of war; the amount available from taxes, direct and indirect; from corporations and from banks.

The total estimated cost of the war for this second year is $15,000,000,000. Of this only $7,750,000,000, about half, is pro-

curable from all sources other than personal contributions. The schedule furnished by the bankers offers a sliding scale, proportioned to the size of the income. It reckons the contributable share of the 10 families whose incomes are over $5,000,000 yearly at 79.70 per cent. From this it slides down the scale until the incomes below a thousand dollars are reached. These are estimated as less than 10 per cent contributable. Out of the 27,304,199 family groups in the United States, more than 24,000,000 have incomes of less than $1,800 a year. Some of these groups doubtless represent single persons. But approximately 75 per cent of the family income of the country is in the hands of the class receiving less than $2,500 a year and 85 per cent of it in the less than $10,000 class. Only 15 per cent of all the families have great wealth, yet it would be manifestly unfair to deny the poorer members of society a chance to own government bonds. If the Liberty Loan were all in the hands of the rich 15 per cent of the country, real democracy might even be jeopardized. Yet it is evident that the margin for actual existence left to the people of small incomes will be disproportionately reduced by the 12 per cent asked of them, while a reduction of even 79 per cent of a $5,000,000 income still leaves a very comfortable living.

What is of special interest, however, is the proportion expected of the professional groups, those people who live on two, four and six thousand dollars a year. The estimated contributable percentage of a $4,500 family income is 22.40 per cent, or $1,008; of a $6,500 income, 29.40 per cent, or $1,911. This, of course, includes taxes, which are expected to furnish $1,500,000,000 towards the payment of the $15,000,000,000 war budget for 1918.

The table offered by the bankers is arresting in its details. Probably few readers have seriously considered the actual cash terms in which their share of the distribution is estimated by the financiers who are working out the loan. It will demand the utmost strain upon every pocket-book, and the surrender of much individual comfort.

"If I cannot wear any other uniform," said one woman, "at least I can wear cheerfully the universal uniform of shabbiness. I can be ashamed to buy new clothes."

War Time Propaganda

"A SUFFRAGE meeting was held in New London last evening. There is an intimate connection between the cause of suffrage and the devotion of women to war work. There is an intimate and distinct woman's interest in the war itself. Suffrage propaganda is legitimate wartime propaganda and by so much as the granting of suffrage is a recognition of woman's sacrifice in the defense of our citizenship and of our natural rights of freedom—of democracy itself—by so much is justice done and the whole cause aided. While women stand ready to forge cannon, and to do men's work wherever necessary for the good of the nation, it is an outrage to deny the privilege of woman's suffrage. Anti-feminists should realize that in England women are working in the mills and foundries and in all industries that the men may be spared for the front. If the war lasts we shall see the same development in our country."—New London, Conn., *Day*.

Confessions of an Anti

IT is Mrs. James W. Wadsworth who brings the solemn word from Washington that, in regard to the Federal Suffrage Amendment, "the only hope I can give you is that we are doing all we can to hold this thing back. Our task seems a colossal one, an almost hopeless task. Our band seems so small and ill equipped." Mrs. Wadsworth said that in Washington the antis had not won anyone to their side and, she hoped, had not lost any one. Her sense of insecurity found further expression when she said: "The majority of the Senators apparently agree with us when we talk with them, but they make no promises. I regret to say that some of the Representatives in the House who made promises did not keep them."

Another contribution to the antis' confession has been made by a Mrs. Edwin Ford of Massachusetts, who complains that "the antis are now practically eating out of the suffragists' hands" in her state, and she lets the cat still further out of the bag when she says: "When the President of the United States refuses to welcome the head of a great national organization, the wife of the senior Senator from New York State, and the daughter of John Hay, whom can we get to represent us?"

It all goes to show into what a state of innocuous desuetude anti-suffrage has fallen. Of course the President of the United States has no time to receive a professedly anti-democratic organization in an hour when the world is on trial for democracy's sake. Of course United States Senators cannot stultify democracy within their own hearts by denying democracy to women. It did not need the confessions of the antis to reveal the dire case of the opposition to woman suffrage, but since they have come, they but reaffirm what everybody knows anyway.

The Suffrage Allies

"THE time is ripe to extend suffrage to women," says Premier Orlando, in an interview granted to the "*Giornale d'Italia*." "I hope the present Legislature may grant it."

New York suffragists are delighted to hear that Italy is going to join the "suffrage allies." England is in the lead, so far as actual suffrage legislation is concerned; France has promised it, and the United States Government has passed the federal suffrage bill through one House. It remained only for Italy to acknowledge the pertinency of the topic to the times. Will the United States Senate kindly take note.

"What I 'Spise"

A PROMINENT anti-suffragist, in addressing the relic of the New York State Association opposed to Woman Suffrage the other day, said she despised some of the suffragists, but was forced to admire some of their attributes, notably, their perseverance. Which reminds us:

Erastus, having approached the business end of the mule three times with a caution that went down three times with the rest of him, was heard to remark as he arose the last time and sidled away indignantly: "Thass what I 'spise 'bout a mule."

Within the Organization

INDIANAPOLIS was Mecca on the suffrage map last week. From all over the country suffragists journeyed to the pretty mid-western city for the contemporary meetings of the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the state convention of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana.

A brilliant luncheon given by the Indiana press women on Tuesday, the 16th, as a feature of their annual convention, vivaciously presided over by Mrs. Mindwell Crampton Wilson, with Dr. Shaw as the centre of attraction at the speakers table, threw open the gates of Indiana's hospitality, as it were, to the visiting women of the National, and what with the communicable liveliness of the state convention, the exquisite hospitality of the Indiana women, the friendly, effective Indiana press, and just Indianapolis, no Council meeting ever closed its sessions with a feeling of greater satisfaction in work done and to be done.

Perhaps it was some winged prescience of the end of the long suffrage struggle that came into the council chamber, along with the drafts that circled about in it and zipped through it, perhaps it was that Mrs. Catt's skilled generalship was more than usually diversified by the fleeting quips and sallies with which she limned the obstructions in the senatorial situation and hymned the praises of the senators who stand to the suffrage guns, perhaps it was that the picture of the two women, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw, still side by side and shoulder to shoulder, was more than usually inspiring there on the last lap of the suffrage race; perhaps it was that Dr. Shaw's remarkable record of public speech-making for the Liberty Loan three times a day during the whole week of the Council—specially gripped and lifted the assembled women—whatever it was, something did it. They planned and plotted with a sense of the imminent end and there was a colorful new zest about it as if they had never done it before. And, as often before, they were renewed and remae idn solidarity of purpose by the prospect of a lot of hard work.

CONFIDENCE in the Senate's speedy passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was the base from which there was promptly projected a plan for a ratification campaign that received the unanimous approval of the members. State ratification committees were outlined and departmentalized to cover the work of organization and education. Never before in its history has the National Council had to face a ratification campaign, but that did not prevent its doing so at Indianapolis with great good will. Plans were perfected with the amazing sense of direction with which Mrs. Catt is wont to steer the suffrage ship over uncharted seas. Every detail was worked out, every sub-committee's task was appointed, every contingency provided for, every need anticipated. As a result, the Senate will no sooner pass the Amendment than every suffrage association in the active force will take its place in line, knowing exactly what it has to do and exactly how it is to set about doing it. All kinds of organizations favorable to suffrage, religious, industrial, political, civic, philanthropic, will be asked to cooperate in the ratification program.

'S ALL TOMMY ROT - A WOMANS PLACE IS IN THE HOME
EQUAL RIGHTS
VOTES FOR WOMEN
THE HOME
!
VOTES FOR
THEY ARE RIGHT IF A WOMAN CAN WORK SHE HAS THE RIGHT TO VOTE

THE CONVERT

IT was difficult for the possibility of the defeat of the Amendment to hold the boards for even brief consideration, but having been brought out for an airing, it was dealt with by a reaffirmation of the National's already declared intention, in the event of the failure to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, to go into the congressional elections next autumn for the avowed purpose of opposing candidates to Senate or Lower House who oppose the Federal Suffrage Amendment, loyalty to the country to be, however, an essential prerequisite of any candidate whose fortunes might be indirectly furthered by opposition to his opponent.

It was decided to send Mrs. Raymond Brown to France to assist in working out the growing program for the Women's Overseas Hospital, the suffrage war baby. She will leave within a short time, taking with her more nurses and nurses' aides.

Of the twenty members of the National Board, there were present, the honorary president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; first vice-president, Mrs. Stanley McCormick; second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay; third vice-president, Mrs. Guilford Dudley; fourth vice-president, Mrs. Raymond Brown; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler; recording secretary, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson; directors, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, Miss Esther G. Ogden, Mrs. Horace C. Stilwell; chairman of press department, Miss Rose Young. The only absentees were one vice president, Mrs. Helen Gardener; two directors, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam and Dr. Mary Safford; one chairman of a standing committee, Mrs. Maud Wood Park.

OF the forty-five states represented in the Council, about two-thirds sent their Council members, the solid South and near South making an exhilarating showing, with Alabama, Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, Missouri and West Virginia all in line. The suffrage associations of the Northwest and Middle West were likewise very much there in the persons of their presidents, or proxies, Mrs. Ueland of Minnesota, Mrs. Youmans of Wisconsin, Mrs. Farrell of Michigan, Miss Lawther of Iowa, Mrs. Brooks of Kansas, Mrs. Threadgill of Oklahoma, Mrs. Edwards and Mrs. Noland of Indiana, Mrs. McCullough and Mrs. Cunningham of Illinois, Miss Allen and Mrs. Davidson of Ohio (in Mrs. Upton's place—it taking two women to fill Mrs. Upton's place). And the East was there, New York state under the leadership of Mrs. Laidlaw, Massachusetts headed by Miss Blackwell, New Jersey headed by Mrs. Feickert, New Hampshire represented by Mrs. Post, and Pennsylvania headed by Mrs. Belford.

A number of associations were still further represented by their extra Council members, and by specially seated representatives, Mrs. Raymond Brown being there in that capacity for New York, as well as Mrs. Edge and Mrs. Belknap, also of New York, Mrs. Hooper for Wisconsin, Mrs. Simpson for Minnesota, Miss Sue White for Tennessee, Mrs. Jacobs for Alabama, Mrs. Post for Kentucky, Mrs. Russell for Michigan, Mrs. Stix, Mrs. McNeill, Miss Lowenstein for Missouri, Mrs. Smith for Pennsylvania, Mrs. Johnson for Massachusetts, Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke for Indiana, and Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker of Texas, as chairman of the National's Child Welfare Committee.

Resolutions were passed testifying to grateful appreciation of the hospitality of the Woman's Franchise League and the good-will of the Indiana press, which insured front page space to the suffrage story day after day through the meetings.

A Banner Convention

ALL during the week that began with Tuesday, April 16, that was what you heard on every hand if you happened to be in Indianapolis—"banner convention"—"wonderful meeting"—"finest ever." It was the week of the seventh annual convention of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana. And from the beginning to the end of it, things moved. In the first place there was a highly efficient woman in the president's chair, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, of Peru. Her harmonizing and unifying influence, her keen appreciation of work values, her sturdy ability to work herself and make others work, were in striking evidence all through the convention's competently handled program. After just one year of her encumbency of the presidential chair the Indiana association leaps to front rank for downright effectiveness. Around her she has drawn various other women of brilliant significance. Reports from the chairmen showed a verve in the projection of programs as inspiriting as the care with which they were worked out was reassuring.

Among the women whose grasp of detail was

(*Continued on page* 433)

Women and the Third Loan

Speak Up for Liberty

IN the ordinary course of peaceful events it might have taken a long time for woman to gain an entrance into the big, financial affairs of the Government. In the extraordinary course of war happenings, her entrance was immediate. In no department into which woman has been thrust, for it has really amounted to being thrust in, though she has gone willingly and with a mind open to the best advantage of her nation and of humanity, has she been of greater service. This is especially so of the women who have given their undivided attention and their concentrated effort to making the Liberty Loans a success. Not only have they been working members of the national and district Liberty Loan Committees, but in every line of endeavor connected with the loans they have shown the mettle of the Puritan and Knickerbocker mothers whose counsels helped to establish America as a nation among nations.

Speaking on this subject, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, National Vice-Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, who was in New York recently for a conference with Mrs. John T. Pratt, Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee of the Second Federal Reserve District, said, "The women of this country have a large work to do in raising the Third Liberty Loan. Their accomplishments during the first and second loans demonstrated their indispensable value to the Government in this important war work. During this campaign and in all future ones they are counted upon to take over a growing share of the financial responsibility of the Government."

Mrs. Funk's particular responsibility is women's participation in the Liberty Loan Speakers' Bureau. She has just returned from a nine thousand mile trip all over the country and has organized a national speakers' bureau in which every available speaker is to be enrolled. "It is not really a bureau," Mrs. Funk explained. "It is a crusade. We have not enough great orators in this country to do the work, but in every town and village there are people who talk well. It is to them I make an appeal."

Being a speaker does not necessarily mean getting upon a platform and exhorting the populace. Just as much good can be done from hour to hour by a word here, a sentence there, a deed everywhere, for Mrs. Funk's idea of achievement is well-expressed in the old couplet,

"A man of words and not of deeds
Is like a garden full of weeds."

"It is pulling up these weeds that constitutes woman's part in this particular phase of war work. Many really patriotic people are unconsciously careless about the little things which, when accumulated, make a big difference to the country at a time like this. Over the tea-cups, at dinner parties, while the knitting needles are clicking, or the bandages are being rolled, while going about the day's necessary marketing and shopping, the woman whose word is active has a splendid chance for diverting money toward the Liberty Loan.

"This is not a task requiring oratorical gifts. All it requires is patriotism, a sense of values, an alert mind and a will-to-do, all of which qualities are deeply imbedded in the conscience of the modern woman. Just a word about thrift, a sentence or two as to the necessity of the hour, a human interest tale of a boy in the trenches, a letter he has written home, so that those who hear will feel bound by the necessity to build an impassable bulwark of financial resistance behind our men who have gone so cheerfully to obey the divine call to the war for humanity. We are fighting for even a greater ideal than that which inspired the continental troops in 1776," continued Mrs. Funk. "It is the spirit of '76 that we must have. We must inculcate it in the minds of the people, young and old alike. There is no better way to do this than to talk about the pertinent and imperative needs of the war, to keep its meaning ever before each and every individual in the land, to point out what victory means and yes, even to paint in graphic terms the horrific aftermath of a possible defeat."

It is to men as well as women that Mrs. Funk is addressing this appeal. She said, "If a man can do no more than get up on a soap box on the street corner and talk about the safety of investing one's savings in the Liberty Loans, if a woman only addresses her sewing club, if a man but speaks a casual word to the men in his employ, if a woman but says a fervid passing word to a luke-warm acquaintance, if a father but instills the idea of saving and investment into the mind of his young son, if a mother but impresses upon her young daughter the desire for economy and investment, then indeed is the speakers' crusade making its forward march toward the inevitable conquest of the enemy."

Dr. Shaw's Call to Arms

"COMBINE all the organized force of your state back of the chairmen of the woman's section of your State Council of Defense," said Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense and honorary president of the National American Women Suffrage Association, to her audiences in Indianapolis at the recent double session of the National's executive council and the Indiana state suffrage convention. Dr. Shaw spoke three times a day to huge audiences and always in the interests of the Liberty Loan.

"Our government, profiting by Great Britain's mistake, organized our women at the beginning of the war," she continued. "We have no time for anything but winning this war. We have no thought but that which should be given to our country. Our country needs the army of women at home just as much as the army of men in France. It needs the same kind of devotion from its women as from its men. It is because I love my country so much and because I am so anxious to give ourselves entirely to the great service of winning the war, that I want the freedom of American women now. We women would be thrice traitors if at this time we should fail to struggle for the fundamental principles here which America is trying to help bring to other countries."

Beating Their Best

EVERY resource of New York state's new-fledged citizens is being placed behind the campaign to insure the success of the Third Liberty Loan. Freed from the responsibilities of a campaign for the ballot, the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, of which Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw is acting president, has undertaken the task of making a new bond sales record for the women of New York. Until the Liberty Loan drive is completed, the entire machinery of the State Party will be placed at the disposal of the Government in the work of reaching as many men and women as possible.

Thousands of suffrage workers, representing every election district in the state, are enlisted in the work of the Third Liberty Loan. Before the end of April every woman in the state will have been made acquainted with the aims and purposes of the Loan and the value of the bonds as an investment, according to Mrs. Laidlaw. State officers, central committees, congressional chairmen, assembly district leaders and election district captains who served in the last suffrage campaign will be in active charge of the big work. Liberty Loan literature will be circulated in the 5,000 election districts of the state, speakers provided and the work of the suffragists and allied organizations will be coordinated with that of home defense leagues and Liberty Loan committees. Approximately 700 clubs located in the 150 assembly districts will cooperate in the Liberty Loan work, which is in charge of Mrs. Charles A. Stone of 907 Fifth avenue, who represented the State Party in the first two drives.

Among the suffrage leaders who will cooperate with the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee in distributing literature and providing speakers throughout the state are Mrs. Laidlaw, who will serve as ex-officio for Mrs. Charles A. Stone, and Mrs. Ogden Reid, who will assist in the work of administration. Mrs. E. Victor Morawetz, chairman of the educational committee, will provide speakers for educational classes, and Mrs. Willis G. Mitchell, chairman of the Rural Problems Committee of the State Party, will have charge of the work in farming districts. Miss Mary Dreier, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and Miss Esther Lape, will conduct the campaign among foreign born women and the Americanization classes through the Suffrage University Extension of Citizenship. Alien women citizens are to be shown the value of Liberty Bonds as an investment and the need of helping the Government to make the war a success.

Although engaged in an effort to win citizenship for themselves, the women of New York made a great showing in the first two Liberty Loan campaigns, raising $3,837,300 worth of bonds in the first and $6,785,750 in the second. Now that every effort of the organization can be put to use for the work it is expected that the Third Liberty Bond drive among New York women will eclipse the records of the first two.

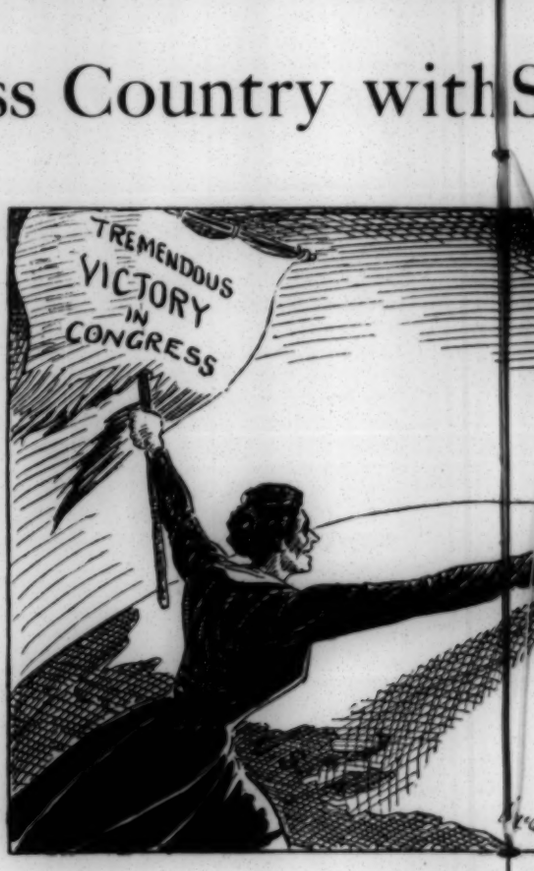
In Indiana

By April 18, Indiana women had raised a total of $8,873,890 subscriptions in the Third Liberty Loan Drive, according to press reports.

'Cross Country with S

G'wan, Smile!

Chronicle, Marion, Indiana



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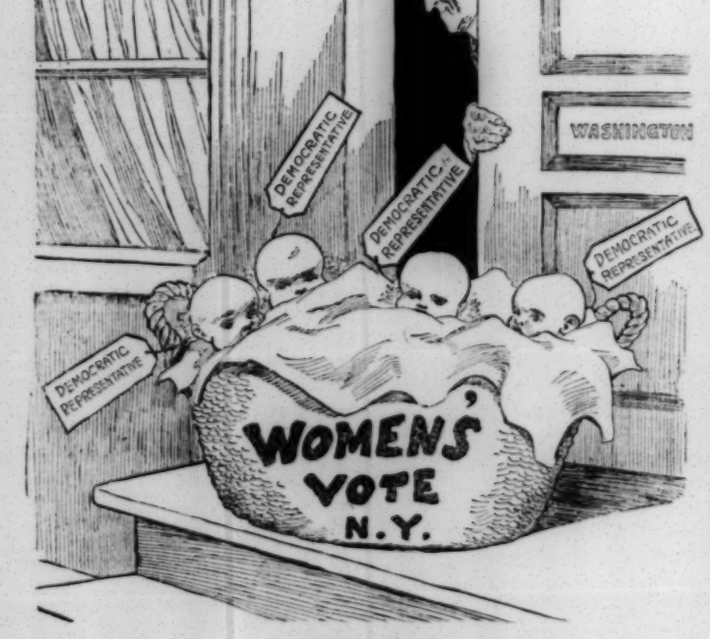

Welcome

Sid L. Reene in Evening Telegram, New York

Another Dark Alley to Go Through

Evening Telegram, Philadelphia, Pa.

Suffrage Cartoonists

ss the Sea

gton, D. C.

Blocked

Commercial Telegram, Memphis, Tenn.

Will They Let Her In?

De Mar in Philadelphia Record

A Spring Hat for Miss Texas

Morning News, Dallas, Texas

Indiana's Great Week

Different

LAST week's meeting of the National Executive Council at Indianapolis differed from all those that have gone before it. No other has been held under the shadow of such tremendous world events. Yet the council meeting illustrated afresh how perfectly suffrage work and war work can go hand in hand.

All hearts were with the mighty struggle in France. Mrs. Catt said she could hardly wait from hour to hour to know how the battle was going. Yet she carried through the work of the Council with her usual ability and efficiency, laying out a comprehensive plan of suffrage work for the whole United States, and providing for all contingencies with far-sighted statesmanship. Dr. Shaw not only attended the Council meetings and spoke inspiring words to the delegates, but found time to address several great audiences outside, moving them to enthusiasm and to tears. The same spirit was found among the rank and file.

The Council meeting did more than show that suffrage work and war work can go together. It deepened the conviction of the delegates that suffrage work is war work. "Have you been fighting again with the little boy next door?" a visitor once asked a young American. And he answered, "No, ma'am, it's the same old fight." The fight against Prussian militarism abroad is one in principle with the fight against unequal suffrage at home, and with all the good fights of all the ages.

Mrs. Catt said: "Some people went into the war gaily, to 'can the Kaiser.' We see now there is to be a demand upon us for greater sacrifices than we had yet dreamed. The outcome depends upon the stuff of which we are made. I am so much an American that I refuse to believe any Hohenzollern is going to rule over the world; and to my mind it would be just as impossible that the Federal Amendment should not pass.

"Ours is a nation that has lived for and by ideals. Our ideal was threatened, and so we are in the war. We are fighting for democracy; but democracy means votes. No country professing to fight for an ideal abroad and living a lie at home is ever going over the top. The slackers include every woman who says she wants a vote, but wants some other woman to pay for it and to do the work. Put in your best efforts now, and nation-wide suffrage will soon be an accomplished fact. Then put your biggest visions and your largest prayers into the ballot-box, where they may be counted!"

Over the Top

ONE of the interesting features of the National Executive Council meeting at Indianapolis was the report of the *Woman Citizen's* growth in circulation and advertising. The National Association has now had the paper for ten months. During February and March, 1918, the *Woman Citizen's* receipts from advertising were nearly treble what they were in June and July, 1917, and its receipts from subscriptions were nearly six times as great as they had been.

There has been a large and steady increase; but we must make it still greater, if the *Woman Citizen* is to come up to the full measure of usefulness that it ought to have, as the national organ. The paper has now attained a point where, if each of its present subscribers would get two more, the *Citizen* would sweep triumphantly "over the top." With that circulation it would command so much advertising as to be completely self supporting, and could carry its important message to those who need it, without anxiety about its financial foundation. Almost anyone can get two new subscribers if she really tries. If you cannot go about and ask people to take the paper, subscribe yourself for two friends or for two enemies, or for two persons of influence, who need to be converted. Do your bit to spread the good gospel of equal suffrage, which this tormented world needs now as never before!

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Her Place Is at Home

MRS. HENRY PRESTON WHITE, of Massachusetts is in Oklahoma, campaigning against the pending equal suffrage amendment. She is making public addresses there to prove that a woman's place is at home. It is reported that she reads to her audiences choice selections from the *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, representing that the suffragists are free lovers, pro-Germans, and everything else that they ought not to be. It is further reported that these slanders make the Oklahoma women very indignant, but that some of the men are impressed.

Anti-Suffrage Notes is the most inaccurate of all the publications opposed to equal rights for women. Its editor lately listed Serbia, Hungary and Sweden, along with Australia, Great Britain and other enfranchised countries, although not one of the three has yet given women full suffrage. Its errors and flagrant misrepresentations have been too numerous to mention. And Mrs. White herself is noted in Massachusetts for her reckless inaccuracy. If the people in Oklahoma want to know whether equal suffrage will promote immorality, let them observe whether the vicious interests favor or oppose it. Those interests, without exception, are always lined up against votes for women.

As a War Measure

WE have got into the way of thinking that when a woman does one job extremely well, there is something else waiting for her just around the corner."

In these words Mrs. Richard Edwards, President of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, described in a nut-shell the way in which one successful achievement brings upon the achiever the urgent call to undertake other tasks.

This has undoubtedly been one cause of the rapid spread of equal suffrage since the breaking out of the war. The splendid war work done by women has convinced a vast number of men that the women should be called upon to help their country also by taking a share of the responsibilities of government. So, in these days, instead of hearing the old argument that women should not vote because they do not fight, we see nation after nation enfranchising its women as a war measure.

No Stop Word

TEXAS, the latest State to extend suffrage to women, was naturally the subject of much rejoicing at the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the National American Women Suffrage Association at Indianapolis. The Texas women present were showered with congratulations. Mrs. Pennybacker, in her address, told an amusing story, illustrating the swift advance of this movement in the South.

Two railroads ran through a certain small town. Being rival roads, they had built their stations as far apart as possible, and travelers often found it hard to get from one end of the town to the other in time to make connections. One day an ex-Confederate officer alighted at one station, with only a short time to get across to the other. He took the only conveyance in sight—a hack drawn by a team of aged horses, driven by a solemn old colored man. In spite of urging, their progress was slow.

"I'm afraid those are not very good horses," said the officer."

"Yes, sah, dose am fine hosses, sah. Dem horses did a lot of fighting in de war, sah."

"Oh, they are cavalry horses, are they? May I talk to them?"

"Yes, sah! Suttinly, sah!"

The officer rose in his seat and shouted, "Forward, march!" The horses started forward like the wind. After a little while, he cried, "Double quick!" and they flew still faster. They reached the station just as the train was coming in. The officer shouted, "Halt!" and the horses stood still.

The astonished driver was delighted to have learned so effective a way to make his horses go. The next day he had a load of several passengers, and he tried the magic words.

"Forward, march!" he cried, and the horses started forward. "Double quick!" and they went faster still. But when they came to the station, they dashed right past. After racking his memory in vain for the third command, the dismayed driver flung the door wide open and shouted, "Gentlemen, get out de best way you can. I done forgot de stop word!"

Our Ship Well Steered

AFTER hearing Mrs. Catt's full and detailed report of the Congressional situation, the members of the National Executive Council all felt thorough approval of the course that has been followed by the representatives of the National Association. Unquestionably, our ship has been and will be ably steered. Of the pilot of our Congressional work, Mrs. Catt said:

"Mrs. Park is certainly the most tactful person I have ever known. She has won the approval, good will and respect of all the Senators, no matter how they stand on suffrage."

Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee said every man in the House expressed perfect faith that whatever he said to Mrs. Park in confidence would never get out. Mrs. Catt said that even the doormen and other employees had been inspired with the same feeling of esteem. An elevator boy expressed the general sentiment when he said, as he gazed after Mrs. Park: "There goes one nice woman!"

The political situation has often been difficult; but our cause could not be in better hands.

Suffrage in Politics

To Strengthen Democracy at Home

THE Executive Council of the N. A. W. S. A. passed the following resolution at Indianapolis on April 19:

Whereas, America is fighting for the right of self-government for the people of Europe while one-half the people of America are denied that right, and

Whereas, the ideal of democracy can be defended with increased zeal abroad if it be given practical application at home, and

Whereas, the votes of the loyal women of America are needed as never before to sustain American ideals at the polls while our men fight for American ideals in the trenches, and

Whereas, country by country, all Europe is recognizing woman suffrage as a war measure fundamental to democracy, British women, Danish women, Icelandic women, Russian women, all having been enfranchised since the war began; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we women in executive council assembled call on the Senate of the United States to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, to the end that America may be strengthened in the fight for democracy abroad by the added strength of her democracy at home. And be it further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to each member of the Senate and to the President of the United States.

Their New Status

THE new political status of New York women is emphasized in the call to the county conventions issued by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Acting Chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. Calling attention to the fact that previous conventions, when the women have been laying plans for their political enfranchisement, have had great significance, the call states, "for the first time their conventions will be civic gatherings of responsible, empowered women voters. For the first time their woman's hope and ideal, their woman's high sense of human responsibility, will become a potent actualizing force in their communities.

"They will meet with a glad sense of a great reform accomplished. No one yet realizes the full possibilities of the woman's vote, but there have been some forecasts in that direction, enough to give the women that political zest which will lend to the convention a tone that no suffrage convention, however earnest and purposeful, has ever had.

"The emphasis in our conventions this year is not to be upon converting, but upon education—not upon winning votes for a cause, but upon preparing women voters for all great causes. It is a happy shift of effort—from the comparatively unproductive struggle for a chance to serve to the inspiring determination to equip ourselves to serve in the best way."

Political Justice

KNOXVILLE, TENN., is showing signs of impatience over the delayed vote in the Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Prominent residents of that city have petitioned the Senate to pass the Amendment now. The petition was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Shields.

"Be it resolved, That we, citizens of Knoxville, in meeting assembled at Knoxville, Tenn., this 13th day of April, 1918, congratulate Senator McKellar on his progressive stand on the Federal Suffrage Amendment and urge Senator Shields to work and vote for this measure granting political liberty to 20,000,000 American women at a time when they are called upon to serve and suffer in a war for democracy abroad, and be it further

"Resolved, That we call upon the United States Senate for the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment; that political justice may be done to the women of this Nation."

In Favor in South Carolina

THE South Carolina Equal Suffrage League is taking up the food conservation and food production campaign with vigor. At the meeting of the Executive Board of the League, held at Columbia, March 27, extensive plans were laid for this work. Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, state president, reports the appointment of Mrs. W. E. Taylor, of Lancaster, as chairman of the Committee on Food Production, and Mrs. W. G. Peterkin, as chairman of Food Conservation. The press speaks of Mrs. Taylor as a "wide-awake practical farmer-ess" and much is expected from both these chairmen. South Carolina is also planning a campaign on behalf of the Women's Oversea Hospitals.

In the meantime the work in behalf of the Federal Amendment is continuing. All of the candidates for mayor of the city of Columbia announced themselves as in favor of the Federal Amendment. The suffragists of South Carolina refer to the "all men's suffrage committee" of Missouri and ask, "When will South Carolina have such a commitee?" In answer they say, "Our 'States Righters' will sit quietly by and do nothing to help the women get the vote through the state and will blame the women when they get it by Federal Amendment."

One of the very energetic branches of the State League is the Aiken League, and the report of its year's work, as given by the president, Mrs. Julian Salley, shows a large amount of work accomplished. The Aiken suffragists celebrated their first anniversary in January by having the first suffrage parade held in South Carolina. Suffrage work was pushed with energy during the year, and in addition the League found time to go in for war gardens, giving special attention to the raising of medicinal herbs, and to establish a municipal market which was kept open throughout the summer. Tables were placed outside the Rest Room, and the farmers brought their produce and sold it there. Canning was done and some 1,500 quarts of fruits and vegetables were saved in this way.

Classes in elementary hygiene and care of the sick in the home were carried on with success.

Since November the Rest Room has been open every Sunday for the soldiers from Camp Hancock, and lunches and gifts were given each drafted man by the league members, the last three times the drafted men have been sent.

A Banner Convention

(*Continued from page 428*)

particularly impressive was Miss Helen C. Benbridge, chairman of organization; Mrs. Grace Julian Clark, of the State Publicity Committee; Mrs. Lewis J. Cox, chairman of the State Congressional Committee, and Mrs. Jesse Fremont Croan, State Circulation Chairman of the *Woman Citizen*. Miss Adah Bush and Miss Mary Gallahan, press chairman, with Miss Benbridge, are responsible for a press program that reflects great credit upon the League.

The public and social events of the convention were as huge successes as the workaday part. At the public meeting on the evening of April 17, Dr. Shaw held the great audience in the convention hall in the usual frankly spellbound attention with which she is wont to grip an audience. Mayor Jewett, the mayor of Indianapolis, extended a welcome at this meeting that made a happy prelude to an excellent suffrage speech. He didn't look old enough to be the mayor of even a little city, but there he is, the mayor of the significant city of Indianapolis, and if he is as good a mayor as he is a suffrage speaker, Indianapolis is in luck.

Wednesday night's banquet drew a large and enthusiastic assemblage to the Riley Room. Mrs. Catt's speech topped a remarkable program of forensic talent which included Mrs. Edwards, as toastmistress; Florence Allen, of Ohio, in a notable speech that brought prolonged applause; Miss Hay, who sent back some rounds of hot shot from the suffrage firing line; Mrs. Dudley, whose southern wit and grace filled the gap where Maud Wood Park was expected to be; Miss Blackwell, before whom the audience rose as one; Mrs. Pennybacker, who used her inimitable gifts as a *raconteuse* by way of introducing Mrs. Cunningham, the Texas woman who has just carried suffrage over the top in Texas and who told about it with droll and delectable simplicity, and Mrs. Laidlaw, who stirred her audience deeply.

The officers elected by the League for the ensuing year are: Mrs. Edwards, president; Miss Adah Bush, Kentland, first vice-president; Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Indianapolis, second vice-president; Mrs. A. H. Beardsley, Elkhart, third vice-president; Miss Helen Benbridge, Terre Haute, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Charles J. Bill, Muncie, fifth vice-president; Mrs. J. S. Morrison, Lafayette, recording secretary, and Miss Sara Lauter, Indianapolis, treasurer. It is expected that Peru will be selected as state headquarters, although an Indianapolis headquarters will be maintained during legislative sessions.

Mississippi's New Roster

THE Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association elected the following officers at the state convention which met at Jackson the first week in April: President, Mrs. B. H. Trotter, Winona; first vice-president, Miss Mattie Thornton, Meridian; second vice-president, Mrs. Charles Thompson, Jackson; recording secretary, Miss Nannie Rice, Starkville; corresponding secretary, Miss Virginia Redditt Price, Carrollton; treasurer, Miss Margaret Hodges, Meridian.

Jean Brooks Greenleaf

By Harriet May Mills

NEWS of the death of Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf of Rochester, at the ripe age of 86 years, awakened many memories of the earlier days of suffrage agitation. To those who had the privilege of working with this wonderful woman when she was president of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, those memories are very dear. She was one of the great souls of earth, strong, able, courageous, generous, gifted.

She was born at Bernardston, Mass., Oct. 1, 1831. Her father was an eminent physician and her mother a cultivated, charming woman. At 21 Jean Brooks married Halbert Stevens Greenleaf and lived at Shelburne Falls until the breaking out of the Civil War. Mr. Greenleaf enlisted and was chosen colonel of the 52d Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. While he was in Louisiana Mrs. Greenleaf was near him and gave her time to helping the soldiers in the hospitals. She was always a most ardent champion of the rights of the colored people.

In 1867 the Greenleafs removed from Louisiana to Rochester where they passed the remainder of their lives. Here the closest bonds of friendship were formed with the Anthony sisters and all other workers for human freedom. Among these one of the nearest was Mary Thayer, who later became Mrs. Mary Thayer Sanford and served for many years as recording secretary of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association.

The Greenleaf home at once became a centre of hospitality where the warmest welcome was always extended by host and hostess to all guests. It was a charming table at which Mrs. Greenleaf presided with her interesting talk on all topics. During Mr. Greenleaf's term in Congress, her Washington home became another such centre where reformers, litterateurs and artists loved to gather.

AFTER serving two years as president of the local Political Equality Club, Mrs. Greenleaf aided in arranging for the holding of the state suffrage convention at Rochester in 1890. It was then that the public work for our cause began. Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, who had been president of the state suffrage society for a number of years, wished to retire. The choice for her successor fell upon Mrs. Greenleaf. She had long been hampered by extreme frailness of body and was reluctant to assume such responsibilities. She consulted her husband, who was in perfect sympathy with her in her advocacy of woman suffrage, as in everything else. He had introduced a federal suffrage bill in Congress during his term and was ready with purse and influence to further the cause at all times. He said to his wife, "Why shouldn't you take office since it gives you a fuller opportunity to advance the cause in which you so ardently believe?" But it was sheer force of will and a great spirit that enabled her, in spite of lack of physical strength, to lead our forces in the state so ably for five years. She first turned her attention to systematic organization and increased the membership of the association many times over, from a few hundreds to thousands, by the formation of local and county clubs. She spoke admirably herself, having a rare command of English and a forceful persuasiveness which never failed to make a profound impression upon her hearers. She had a noble presence, great dignity and gentleness of manner.

FORTUNATE was New York state in possessing such a leader through the Constitutional Convention campaign of 1894. An amusing incident of the election of the delegates to that convention was that the Democrats of Rochester nominated both Mr. and Mrs. Greenleaf. At first Mrs. Greenleaf thought that her husband would be elected and that there was no chance for her. Then later it looked as if she alone would be chosen and the thought of being at Albany without her husband was quite alarming to her. She loved to narrate her experiences and the excitements of the campaign after it was ended and Republicans only were elected to seats in the Convention. From the Anthony home as headquarters during that winter and spring of 1894, two day meetings were planned in every county of the state with Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw as the chief speakers. When funds were needed, Mrs. Greenleaf went out among her friends in Rochester and secured the money required to go on with the work. After the meetings were over, we opened headquarters in the State Capital. All through that hot summer, from May until August, when the vote was taken in the Convention on our amendment, Mrs. Greenleaf was present. Those of us who were with her through those trying days learned the power of her great personality and her unfailing faith in the final victory of right and justice which gave her a sublime optimism at all times. One persistent anti-suffrage member of the Convention said to me: "We are not converted to suffrage for women, but I do not believe there is a man in this Convention who is not converted to Mrs. Greenleaf." Many hearings were held over which Mrs. Greenleaf presided with a dignity and charm which won every one's admiration. It was the beginning of the anti-suffrage activity in the state. Albany was the stronghold of this reactionary movement. But who remembers now its leader, Mrs. J. V. L. Pruyn? With Bishop Doane she used every possible means to attack us and to defeat the amendment. Much of the wealth of the city, the press and many of the churchmen were then arrayed against us. Elihu Root, the leader of the Convention on the floor, used his political power to defeat the amendment. In spite of all this opposition, Mrs. Greenleaf went on serenely and fought such a good fight that the vote of the Convention was sufficient to surprise and alarm the anti-suffragists.

The final victory in New York state owes an inestimable debt to Jean Brooks Greenleaf and the splendid battle against injustice and prejudice which she carried on all over the state for five years. When her husband's failing health forced her retirement, her keen interest and sympathy kept her in close touch with all the work of the succeeding years. We had hoped she might live to exercise the citizenship she had worked so valiantly to win. It was not to be. We may say with Browning, "Through such souls God, stooping, gives sufficient of His light for us to rise by."

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Correspondence

From Representative Blanton

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

Usually I can say "Amen" to everything found in your admirable magazine. But I must dissent from the position take by Miss Blackwell in her article entitled "That Zone System," wherein she states that its inevitable result will limit most people's reading to the local papers, is expected to kill all of the papers of national circulation except a few, will put most reform papers out of business, and that all distant subscribers who are not rich will be forced to discontinue their reading matter.

With this her belief, I cannot condemn her for thus writing. But Miss Blackwell probably has not had the same opportunity to study this question as was afforded our able Ways and Means Committee which framed this legislation. Has she considered that our Government has carried publications through the mails each year at an actual loss of $90,000,000, necessitating the raising of $4 from every family of five members, each year, to cover this loss? It is admitted that if publications paid the cost of their carriage through the mails, we could easily go to a one-cent basis for first-class letter mail and have a surplus left over every year. While the publisher received $450,000 for the advertisements in the May, 1917, number of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, it cost our Government $20,000 more to circulate that one issue than it received; and while one weekly issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* brings to the publisher $310,000, yet the Government on that issue sustains an actual loss of $15,000 each week, and the Government sustains an actual loss of $4,000,000 each year for carrying through the mails the publications of the Curtis Publishing Company alone. During the last fiscal year the Government lost $1,516,388 in carrying *Collier's Weekly*, $451,044 in carrying the New York *Times*, and actually paid to the railroads $80,000 more than it received for hauling the *Outlook*. No wonder they are howling, when some of this subsidition has been taken from them. This loss has been paid by the people, who have been taxed in order that rich publishers may become multi-millionaires.

I want to assure Miss Blackwell that the people will continue to have plenty of reading matter, that no publication worth while will discontinue, but that dividends will decrease some, and even if there is an increase in subscription price, the people will pay it and then save money, for such increases will hardly amount to as much as $4 per family.

Thomas L. Blanton.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

A Plainswoman's Testimony

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

When I read today in the *Woman Citizen* of the girl with the hoe carrying her own lunch and at noontide eating it in the shade of a stone wall, I thought of a South Dakota ranch woman who last week ate hers in the shade of a hay stack in an Indian pasture on the Pine Ridge reservation, while she watched the cattle which, owing to a three days' snow storm, she had helped to drive across the Cheyenne river to the reservation in order that they might be fed the hay which, on account of the soft roads, could not be hauled to the ranch.

The picture in the *Citizen* of the girl driving three horses, reminded us of a four-horse team on a disk driven by a woman, last summer. This is easy. The only farm or ranch work women don't do in Custer County is pitching hay and loading and feeding it out in the winter, and even this we have done in a pinch.

Many times last summer while in the alfalfa field, it was in my mind to write the *Citizen* of the experiences, as an encouragement to prospective women farm workers, from one whom circumstances have thrown at times, for a number of years, into many kinds of ranch work. We have a kodak view which was snapped by a mischievous sister while the writer was milking a broncho cow whose calf was getting too much milk for its good. We have dabbled a little in dairying because of the irresistible example of the new settlers, but the old-time ranchers cannot yet feel pride in this milking business and feeding calves skim milk, though the closing up of the ranges, due to the homestead entries, is cutting down the size of herds and forcing to a growing extent, small diversified farming, notwithstanding the special adaptability of this section to grazing.

The things I ruminated on last summer for an article! How I wish I could recall them. I do remember that while we were feeling so buoyantly free and wonderfully useful riding a mower, a rake, a sweep, we did like to have a man around to tinker with the harnesses and feel sorry because there was no pie for dinner. Of course, there couldn't be, with the women folks in the hay field.

The overalls—well we've had to do out door work for so long—and so many masculine things—that we just can't come to the overalls. Oh, my brother's wife has the garden suits—she whose tastes are strictly feminine—but those of us who jump into a saddle on quick notice without getting into a habit, are still splitting and mending our skirts. Each spring we go to the store and look at the overalls and these wonderful new things for the outdoor women—and then go and buy the dresses like we used to.

We like to listen to and join in the cattle talk, the chat about the alfalfa seed crop, the branding, the price of beef, if you please, and all this interesting stuff, but we can't come to the overalls. Maybe we will next year.

But this is to say any girl who can drive a team—and if she can't she can learn—can mow, rake, sweep, and drive a team on the stacker as well and as easy as a man.

One fall and winter we helped load and haul and saw the wood and fix fences. And there is always the riding—looking out for the cattle, I think the jolliest kind of work for women. But we still do like to have a man around to do the branding—and to tinker with the harnesses.

Bower, S. D. Rose Bower.

"Where is the best place to keep milk perfectly nice and fresh during a hot summer day?" asked the domestic science teacher.

And one girl promptly answered: "Please, teacher, in the cow."

"Liberty Land"

"Liberty Land," at the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory, Lexington Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street, New York, should not be missed by any one interested in the war or the progress of the Third Liberty Loan. The largest number of war relics in the country are on exhibition there. These were prepared under the auspices of the French and British Governments, and sent to this country to the Liberty Loan Committee for the express purpose of arousing the enthusiasm and interest of the people for the coming bond issue. Admission is free. Among the war relics are German aeroplanes, the remains of a destroyed Zeppelin, trench mortars, French "seventy-fives," barbed wire entanglements and a thousand and one other implements of warfare as it is today on the plains of Flanders and France. The exhibition will last for the period of the Liberty Loan. It is open from 11 a. m. to 11 p. m. on week days. Admission free.

Governor Lowden, Guest of Illinois Women's Club

THE Illinois Women's Athletic Club of Chicago, "organized for women, by women," has increased so rapidly in strength and numbers that plans are now under way for a club which will rival any athletic club home in the country. At the Founders' Dinner, held recently at the Hotel LaSalle, the club pointed with pride not only to its growth but to the broad democratic lines upon which it is founded. The Founder Membership list, representing some 125 women, includes women active in civic, suffrage and state affairs, home women, teachers, artists, musicians, lawyers, physicians, authors, advertising women, buyers, stenographers, managers and proprietors of various lines of business.

Governor Lowden was the principal speaker at the Founders' Dinner, Mrs. Lowden being one of the honorary members. The Honorary membership includes also Mrs. Edward F. Dunne, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Miss Mary M. Bartleme, Miss Florence King, and Mrs. Harriett Stokes Thompson. Mrs. William Severin is president of the club, Mrs. Howard Gould of New York, vice-president-at-large, Mrs. Samuel S. Hutchinson and Mrs. Leona H. Krag (Jean Prescott Adams), vice-presidents, and Miss Mary E. Luce, secretary.

The Legion of Death

By Caroline Kettle

LO, women stand in Odin's hall,
Fresh from a glorious death;
Loud the triumphant Valkyr-call

Thru dim space wandereth.
Shades loved of Odin press small hands,
Cold-damp with battle's breath;
Small hands all eager with their joy—
To give their all to Death.

Pro Patria! For them the call
Meant more than life could mean;
Now stand they white in Odin's hall,
Holy and white and clean.

Lo, women throng Valhalla's hall,
High keens the Song of Death,
Shrill the triumphant Valkyr-call
Thru dim space wandereth!

Your Vote in the County

By Mary Sumner Boyd

THE county is the only unit of local government which is common to all states. In New England the perfecting of the early towns left little room for villages, which are the development of a later period; in the Middle West, which was settled later, the village is the type, the township either unknown or exceedingly insignificant. In the agricultural South there are no, or few, villages and the county is the important local unit; in New England town dominates county, but for all that the county is a universal unit.

There are in the United States almost 3,000 counties ("parishes" in Louisiana) covering the entire area of all states, each state adopting its own standards of number and size. Delaware has three, the minimum number, and Texas the maximum, 248. Though all cities must perforce be in counties, yet five-sixths of the county area of the United States is rural, a unit wide in area and thinly populated.

The area of individual counties ranges from Bristol County, Rhode Island, 25 miles, to Custer County, Montana, 20,490 miles, the average being somewhere about 600 miles; population runs from half a dozen souls in Brown County, Texas, to between two and three millions in New York County, the average about 200,000.

THE county's functions are few, for when people live far apart they neither need nor are able to undertake many collective activities. The number of the county's functions depends in part on the degree of development of the smaller local units in a particular state and this in its turn depends on density of population. "Everywhere and above all," says an authority on local government, "the county is a district for the administration of justice." The county seat is the place where the jail and court house are and the greater number of county officials are connected with justice. In most states county functions cover also taxation and finance; in all but New England, roads; in many the county has some educational and charitable functions; in many it has the conduct of elections.

These functions, or such of them as the county performs in a particular state, are carried out by a county board with legislative powers and certain administrative officials.

Los Angeles County (California), which has commission government, alone in the United States has departed from the traditional forms of county government.

COUNTY boards are of two kinds; Boards of Supervisors, one elected from each town, for a period of two years in most states, are characteristic of those states where town government is important; Boards of Commissioners, generally three or five, elected at large, are characteristic of the states where the smaller units are unimportant. Rhode Island, a state of the New England group in which the town has rendered county government unimportant, has no county board. Georgia has no board, strictly speaking, and in Virginia the Justices of the Peace serve as a county board.

There is in the county no direct democracy, no general meeting of the voters for direct supervision of county affairs; the voters have no part except to elect, at the fall general elections—or, in some states, in odd years to avoid state elections—the county officials and the board representing the voters for legislative purposes. As a legislative body the supervisor-board is perhaps the more representative form of government, but the commissioner-board, elected at large, not by units but by count of heads, is the more democratic. This method prevents such conditions as exist in New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Maine and Rhode Island where the towns of ancient establishment are veritable "rotten boros," having a representation on the Board of Supervisors with no relation to their population while newer places with greater population have little or no representation.

IN other states also centers of population are not infrequently under-represented on the supervisor-board. Thus Buffalo, embracing 80 per cent of the population of Erie County, elects only 50 per cent of the supervisors.

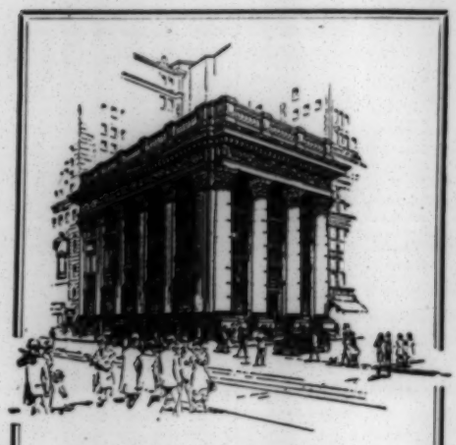
Of possible county officials there are a score, some characteristic of one state, some of another, a few appointive but the vast majority elective, serving terms of from 2 to 12 years, the latter in the case of some judges. Maine has the smallest number, nine officials, all elective.

J. A. Fairlie in his book on Local Government lists 17 officials who are found commonly in county governments. Eight of these are connected with the administration of justice—thus bearing out the statement already made that justice is the main function of the county and the function common to all states. In 12 states the county judge is not elected by the county but appointed by State Legislature or Governor. Three county officials are connected with taxation and finance, one with roads (surveyor), one with schools and one with health.

AS New York is typical of the states where county government is fairly important a list of New York County officers with data concerning them will give an idea of how the average county is governed in a populous state where all local governmental units are well developed.

The legislative body is a Board of Supervisors elected for two years, one from each township. Their work covers levying taxes, appropriating money, fixing salaries, preparing grand jury lists, care of county property, districting for school purposes, appointing superintendent of highways and canvassing election returns. As these functions involve a great deal of labor in a state like New York, the various activities are assigned to committees. The members of the county board are also town supervisors. They receive a salary for each function, $2 a day when working for the town, and $2 extra when serving on the county board, which meets a certain number of days each month. This small salary is supplemented by fees.

(*Continued on page 437*)



The Woman's Department at our Fifth Avenue Office is in charge of Miss V. D. H. Furman and is especially equipped to handle the accounts of women and women's organizations

COLUMBIA TRUST COMPANY

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We are sometimes called the Official Suffrage Bank

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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MAY WHITE SALE

Commencing Monday, April the 29th

A specially prepared sale of entirely new and attractive assortments of

Women's Negligees, Matinees,
Muslin, Silk and Knit Underwear
Petticoats, Corsets and Brassieres

made of high-grade materials in the latest models; all sizes in the assortments

Your Vote in the County

(*Continued from page* 436)

Administrative officials are:

Office.	No.		Term.	Pay.	Elected or Appointed.
Sheriff (Chief Executive)	1	from ea. town.	3 yrs.	Sal & fees.	Elected.
Treasurer	1		3 yrs.	Sal. & p.c.	Elected.
Co. Clerk (also clerk of court)	1		3 yrs.	Sal. & p.c.	Elected.
Supt. of Poor	1–3		3 yrs.	Salary.	Elected or appointed.
Supt. of Highways	1		4 yrs.	Salary.	Appointed.
Dist. Supt. of Schools	1–8		5 yrs.	Salary.	Elec. by local school directors.
Dist. Attorney	1		3 yrs.	Salary.	Elected.
Judge	1		6 yrs.	Salary.	Elected.
Surrogate (some Cos.)	1		6 yrs.	Salary.	Elected.
Coroners	4		3 yrs.	Sal. or fees.	Elected.

Six out of the above executive offices are connected with the administration of justice. The salary of most officials is no greater than that of the supervisors.

Wyoming is at the opposite extreme from New York. It is a rural state, thinly populated. Of villages it has none, and though the town government has some of the officials ordinarily characteristic of the village, these officials are few and their functions very limited. The county is the important local unit in this state. Here the legislative body is a board of three Commissioners elected at large, two serving two years, and one four years. Their functions are to apportion and levy taxes, manage the business of the county, keep up its buildings, make and keep in repair roads and bridges, to establish election precincts and have full superintendence of the poor. They receive a small annual salary ($200.00), and a per diem of $5.00 for days of actual work.

Administrative officials of Wyoming County all serve two years. They are sheriff, county attorney, coroner, constables, court clerk—five offices connected with justice—and treasurer, surveyor, county clerk, superintendent of schools and assessor—five officials not connected with justice. All these officials receive fixed salaries, in most cases $1,200 a year, the sheriff receiving fees in addition.

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Who Started Primary Suffrage?

TEXAS Primary Suffrage Bill and the recent entrance of practically 1,000,000 women into the suffrage column have brought out many requests for further information on the initiation of the seemingly novel idea of giving women primary suffrage. Mrs. Helen Moore, first vice-president of the Texas Suffrage Association, gives the following information about it:

"In the winter of 1916-17, Judge W. E. Hodges, Associate Justice of the Court of Civil Appeals of Texarkana, Texas, wrote to Hon. O. S. Lattimore, State Senator from Fort Worth, saying that he believed a law granting women the right to vote in the primaries would be constitutional and that he would like to see the matter taken up. Senator Lattimore investigated the matter and satisfied himself it would be constitutional and so prepared a bill with primary suffrage for women as its object. The bill was introduced into the regular session of the legislature in January, 1917.

"A favorable report was secured on the bill from the committee to which it was referred. Senator Hudspeth, the leading anti-suffragist in the senate moved to recommit it, and it was recommitted, with the result that the bill was brought out of committee with an unfavorable majority report, but with a favorable minority. It was refused consideration.

"The women never for a moment gave up the primary suffrage idea. They determined to try for the passage of the bill at the very next session when action would be possible. At at special session of the legislature called in the summer of 1917 to impeach the governor, no other legislation was considered. Feeling sure that a special session would be called in the winter of 1917-18, Judge Ocie Speer, of Fort Worth, was asked to draft the bill for us, which he did and rendered an able opinion on its constitutionality. The bill, before passage, was changed considerably and so many amendments were added that when it was finally passed, we hardly recognized it. But now we are voters and will endeavor to make the greatest possible showing at the primaries in July."

In regard to the Arkansas Primary Suffrage Bill, Mrs. Moore says, "Senator Lattimore states that Senator Riggs of Arkansas wired him for a copy of his original bill, which was sent and later introduced into the Arkansas legislature and passed."

According to the table of suffrage events the Primary Suffrage Bill in Texas was reported out of committee on January 31, 1917, with a favorable majority. It then died on the senate calendar. The bill passed through its several stages until it became a law, March 26, 1918, upon Governor Hobby's signature. The same calendar of events shows the Primary Suffrage Bill to have passed the House of the Arkansas legislature on February 15, 1917. It was then passed by the senate, and on March 6, 1917, received the signature of Governor Brough.

Credit Given

Credit for the picture of Mrs. John Blair in last week's issue of the Woman Citizen is due the White Photo Co.

WILD PHRASES YOU HAVE MET—TAMED

Have You a Little Liberty Bond in Your Home?

No Metal Can Touch It.

Eventually—Why Not Now?

There's a Reason.

Don't be a miser;

Go after the Kaiser.

Buy Liberty Bonds.

Cooking Under Water

IT is intensely cold down close to the bottom of the ocean and the sort of sub-cellar submerged cooking that you have to do on a submarine has some other disadvantages. Still, cooking under water isn't so bad, according to Mrs. M. A. Wilson of Philadelphia, who trains cooks for the United States Navy.

Enlisted men are Mrs. Wilson's students and pupils and she conducts some of her cooking classes on board battleships and submarines. She tells of being 39½ hours under water on a submarine.

"Electric stoves are used," she says, "but food which requires a high temperature must be cooked before the submarine is submerged."

She began with a class of 50 men. Today she has 1,000 men under training.

"I have spent days taking oil ranges apart to find out why the men could not make them work, finally discovering that it was because they had kept the flames too high. The work done has conformed entirely to navy requirements. One must find the amount of food named in the regulations to serve at a cost of 45 cents a day.

"The cooking course lasts five weeks, every day from 5:30 a. m. to 7 p. m. Every man must know how to make bread and under very different conditions from those on land. The variation in temperature is great and the water used must come from the ocean.

"The boys are enthusiastic about their work and I don't believe I have ever seen a finer class of men. We have doctors, lawyers, clerks—all professions and trades are represented. There have been practically no failures.

"In Boston 225 men were turned over to me to train as commissary stewards. I did not know what was required of such an officer. I went to Cape Henlopen to find out what a commissary steward was supposed to do. Then I immediately put these 225 men into white suits such as navy cooks wear and put them into the kitchen to learn how to cook as the foundation for their work."

Garment Trade Women to Help Hospitals

WOMEN prominent in the garment making professions have started a plan to support their own unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A. About thirty-five leading women were called together by Miss Bertha Bernstein of the *Dry Goods Economist* and, launched their enterprise at a banquet held in the Woman's City Club about ten days ago. Miss Bernstein was unanimously elected chairman of the organization, Miss Mirima Rothschild of *Women's Wear*, secretary, and Miss J. Wise, of Wise and Co., treasurer. There are to be no paid officers. Women of the various trade newspapers will take care of the publicity and clerical work, and will work in connection with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which is backing the hospitals. Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the National's Executive Committee for the Hospitals, was the guest of honor at the dinner, and explained to the women present the work of the units now in active service.

Some of the most important women buyers are co-operating in the plan to sustain this separate unit as the special war baby of the garment workers. Buyers from Best and Co., Lord and Taylor, Wanamaker, Bonwit Teller and Co., were among those at the City Club dinner. Among the women of the manufacturing end of the garment-making trades present were Miss Wise, Mrs. Max Cohen, Miss Silver, Mrs. Steinthal, Miss Piedmont, Miss Grannis, Mrs. Bustanoby and Mrs. Smolin.

In addition to the two trade journals in which the chairman and secretary of the new enterprise are interested, the *American Coat and Suit Review* was represented by Miss Hoyt, Mrs. Fayes and Miss Levy; and *Nugent's Bulletin* by Mrs. Robert.

This is a strong industrial group in which there are many high-salaried women. They are accustomed to important business transactions and to the handling of large funds. They feel in every way competent to sustain their share of an important enterprise like this, and are proud of the fact that the hospitals are staffed entirely by women.

On April 23 they held a second meeting at which many more women manufacturers and buyers were present. Among the new firms represented were Gimbel's and Stern Bros.

The Alien in Equal Suffrage States

EQUAL suffrage states have been first to take up the problem of the alien voting on first papers. Oregon recognized the problem long before the war. The first Legislature which women had a part in electing, that of 1913, passed a bill disfranchising voters on first papers, which was passed on referendum to the people by a three to one vote.

Kansas, first among the states, recognized the alien as a war problem. Shortly after war was declared in 1917, its Legislature passed a resolution to amend the suffrage clause so that none but citizens could vote. This amendment striking out "first paper voters" in favor of "every citizen" will be voted on by the people next November.

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Let the Woman Citizen help you in this great and highly important task. The Woman Citizen is every suffragist's Silent Partner. Its voice never gives out, its arguments are sound and inexhaustible, it never fails to keep its weekly appointment. Put the Woman Citizen into the hands of every anti you know. Don't wait—do it to-day. Send your subscriptions through your suffrage league and help your state to win a Cash Premium (see page 423)

Our Slogan for 1918

One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers